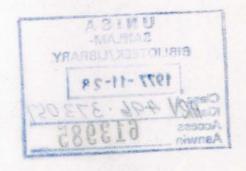
MORPHOLOGY OF THE

SUBSTANTIVE IN THONGA

R. M. Mfeka

(Article submitted to satisfy the requirements for the degree of Honours B.A. of the Department of Bantu Languages at the University of South Africa.)

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## CONTENTS

		Page
Preface		ii
A	cknowledgements and Symbols	ii
Paragra	phs:	
1.0.0.	Noun Prefixes of Thonga	1
1.1.0.	List of Noun Classes	1
1.1.2.	Noun Classes 1 and 2	1
2.0.0.	Noun Classes la and 2a	3
3.0.0.	Noun Classes 3 and 4	4
4.0.0.	Noun Classes 5 and 6	5
5.0.0.	Noun Classes 7 and 8	7
6.0.0.	Noun Classes 9 and 10	8
7.0.0.	Noun Classes 11 and 10	10
8.0.0.	Noun Class 14	11
9.0.0.	Noun Class 15	12
10.0.0.	Noun Class 16	12
11.0.0.	Noun Class 17	13
12.0.0.	Noun Class 18	14
13.0.0.	Noun Class 21	14
14.0.0.	Noun Derivatives	14
15.0.0.	Nouns derived from Nouns	15
16.0.0.	The Pronoun	17
16.1.0.	The Absolute Pronoun	17
17.1.0.	The Demonstrative Pronoun	19
19.0.0.	The Possessive Pronoun	22

#### PREFACE

Thonga is a language spoken in the mountainous area of the Phongolo valley, Ingwavuma district, of Northern Natal. This language is a strange mixture of Zulu, Swati and Tsonga, and curiously enough it is spoken only by the womenfolk amongst themselves. When they communicate with their husbands or strangers they use the Zulu language. This study was carried out in July, 1967.

During the course of this study reference was made to the following books and publications:

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At Ingwavuma Mr. and Mrs. S. Mthimkhulu who run the local bus service were my hosts. They made my stay very pleasent and I wish to thank them from the bottom of my heart.

#### ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

BP Basic Prefix

Cl. Noun Class

CV Consonant - Vowel sequence

Dem. Demonstrative

N Homorganic Nasal consonant

P. Person

Pl. Plural

pos. Position

pref. Prefix

Pr. Pronominal

+ plus

> becomes

~ allomorph

#### 1.0.0. THE NOUN CLASS PREFIXES IN THONGA 1.1.0.

# List of Noun Class Prefixes:

1 Class mu- ~ umhu- ~ nw-

2 ba- ~ abha-

la Ø-

2a ba-

3 umu-

4 imi-

5 ti- ~ %-

6 ma- ~ ima-

7 xi-

8 su-

iN-9

10 tiN-

11 lu-

12

13

14 bu- ~ byi-

15 ku-

16 pha- ~ ha-

17 ku-

18 mu

19

20

21 dyi-

#### Discussion of the different Noun Prefixes: 1.1.1.

#### Noun Class Prefixes 1 and 2: 1.1.2.

Morphology: Class 1 has the Basic Prefix mu- with an 1.1.3. allomorph umhu- and nw-, and the BP of Class 2 is ba- which has an allomorph abha-.

1.1.4. Prefixes <u>umhu</u>- and <u>abha</u>- only occur with the monosyllabic stem -nu.

umhunu (person) abhanu (2)

- 1.1.5. Prefix <u>nw- occurs</u> with the vowel commencing stem -<u>ana</u>.

  nwana (child)
- 1.1.6. Allomorphs <u>mu</u>- and <u>ba</u>- in classes 1 and 2 respectively occur with all other stems.

muLungu (whiteman) baLungu (2)

muzali (cousin) bazali (2)

mufundisi (teacher) bafundisi (2)

mukhwenyana (bridegroom) bakhwenyana (2)

mulobokana (bride) balobokana (2)

1.1.7. Certain noun forms employ the possessive prefixes

wa- (cl. 1) and ba- (cl. 2) which respectively show

agreement with the antecedent nouns umhunu and abhanu.

These antecedent nouns are always excluded and the

remaining forms are not regarded as nouns but as

qualificative pronouns based on possessives.

wansati (woman) babasati (2)
waxilisa (boy) babaxilisa (2)
wanuna (man) babanuna (2)

- 1.2.0. Number: Class 1 denotes singular and its corresponding plural forms are in class 2.
- 1.3.0. Significance: Classes 1 and 2 are exclusively personal.

mutshayeli (driver) batshayeli (2)

mudyimi (farmer) badyimi (2)

muxabisi (seller) baxabisi (2)

mudyisi (herdboy) badyisi (2)

mutshumayeli (preacher) batshumayeli (2)

```
2.0.0. Noun Classes la and 2a:
```

2.1.0. Morphology: In Class la the prefix is covert and is morphologically represented by the symbol

Ø (zero) and in class 2a the prefix is ba-.

tati (my father)

batati (2)

mami (my mother)

bamami (2)

makoti (daughter-in-law)

bamakoti (2)

makwexu (my brother)

bamakwexu (2a)

2.2.0. Class la is singular with its corresponding plural forms in Class 2a. In class 2a when the plural prefix is used with proper nouns then it denotes "and the others" or "and company".

baJinja (Jinja and cmpany)

baNdumu (Ndumu and the others)

2.3.0. Significance: In these classes are found kinship terms, proper names, names of certain animals, and some adoptive nouns:

2.3.1. Kinship terms:

sisi (my sister)

basisi (2a)

kokwana (my grandfather)

bakokwana (2a)

kokwe (my grandmother)

bakokwe (2a)

malume (my maternal uncle) bamalume (2a)

2.3.2. Proper names:

Dineka

Ndlazi

Khubekile

2.3.3. Names of animals:

bhe jane (rhinocerous)

babhejane (2a)

2.3.4. Adoptive nouns:

tsheleni (shilling)

batsheleni (2a)

mpondwe (pound)

bampondwe (2a)

- 3.0.0. Noun Classes 3 and 4:
- 3.1.0. Morphology: The Basic Prefixes of Classes 3 and 4 are respectively umu- and imi-.
- 3.1.1. Prefixes <u>umu-</u> and <u>imi-</u> occur, without modification, with monosyllabic stems.

umuti (village) imiti (4)
umudyi (body) imidyi (4)
umuxi (tree, medicine) imixi (4)

3.1.2. With stems that have more than one syllable, the vowel <u>u</u> of the Basic Prefix is elided and a morphophonemic change takes place between the consonat remaining consonant of the prefix and the initial of the noun stem showing a process of regressive assimilation:

unenge (leg) minenge (4) um- + -nenge > um- + -gwala ungwala (finger) mingwala (4) > um- + -kolo unkolo (throat) minkolo (4) > > undilo (fire) mindilo (4) um- + -dilo umpfula (river) mimpfula (4) um- + -pfula > umpfundla (hare) mimpfundla (4) um- + -pfundla >

- 3.2.0. Number: Class 3 denotes singular with its corresponding plural in Class 4.
- 3.3.0. Significance: In this class may be found nouns referring to anatomical terms, natural phenomena, and various other objects:
- 3.3.1. Anatomical terms:

unenge (leg) minenge (4)
untlhathi (jaw) mintlhathi (4)
untlhane (back) mintlhane (4)

	unsiha (sinew)	minsiha (4)
	ungwala (finger)	mingwala (4)
	unkolo (throat)	minkolo (4)
	umudyi (body)	mimudyi (4)
3.3.2.	Natural phenomena:	
	undilo (fire)	mindilo (4)
	umoya (wind, spirit)	mimoya (4)
	umusi (steam)	mimusi (4)
	umuxi (tree, medicine)	mimuxi (4)
	umpfula (river)	mimpfula (4)
3.3.3.	Miscellaneous:	
	umuti (homestead, village)	mimuti (4)
	unsindo (noise)	minsindo (4)
	untshini (machine)	mintshini (4)
	umukwa (knife)	mimukwa (4)
	untshuti (shade)	mintshuti (4)
4.0.0.	Noun Classes 5 and 6:	
4.1.0.	Morphology: The Basic Prefix	x of Class 5 is ti- with
		Plurals are in Class 6
	whose BP is ma- with allomo:	rph ima-
4.1.1.	Monosyllabic stems take the	prefix ti The plural
	prefix ma- is superimposed	on ti-, except on stem -hlo.
	tihlo (eye)	imahlo(6)
	tinyo (tooth)	matinyo (6)
	tiku (country, land)	matiku (6)
4.1.2.	Prefix Ø- in Cl. 5 occurs w	ith all polysyllabic stems:
	dyiwa (pumpkin)	madyiwa (6)
	dambu (sun, day)	madambu (6)
	zambane (potato)	mazambane (6)

4.1.3. The plural allomorph <u>ima</u> in Cl. 6 is restricted to a few monosyllabic nouns:

imahlo (eyes)

imafu (clouds)

imati (water)

imaxi (saliva)

4.2.0. Number: Class 5 nouns denote singular and the corresponding plurals are found in Cl. 6.

There are also neutral nouns in Cl. 6. that do nat take a singular. Generally these nouns refer to various kinds of liquid substances:

maximila (mucous)

imati (water)

mafuxa (fat, oil)

madyimi (lies)

manyala (filth)

4.3.0. Significance: Nouns of these classes refer to persons,
parts of the body, natural phenomena,
liquids of various kinds, and certain adoptive nouns:

4.3.1. Persons:

jaha (young man) majaha (6) khele (thief) makhele (6)

soka (male lover) masoka (6)

4.3.2. Anatomical terms:

tihlo (eye) imahlo (6)
qolo (small of the back) maqolo (6)

dyolo (knee) madyolo (6)

tinyo (tooth) matinyo (6)

4.3.3. Natural phenomena:

tiku (country) matiku (6)

dambu (sun) madambu (6)

tifu (cloud) imafu (6)

khala (piece of coal) makhala (6)

4.3.4. Adoptive words:

phepha (paper) maphepha (6)

hembe (shirt) mahembe (6)

kepisi (cap) makepisi (6)

tafula (table) matafula (6)

bhantshi (jacket) mabhantshi (6)

sondo (wheel) masondo (6)

5.0.0. Noun Classes 7 and 8:

5.1.0. Morphology: In Class 7 the Basic Prefix is xi- and it is su- in Class 8.

5.1.1. Prefixes xi- and su- occur with all stems:

xipakanya (cat) supakanya (8)

xilukazi (old woman) sulukazi (8)

xihaxe (animal) suhaxe (8)

xidalwa (cripple) sudalwa (8)

5.2.0. Number: Class 7 is singular and its corresponding plural is in Class 8.

5.3.0. Significance: These classes include nouns referring to persons with certain characteristics anatomical terms, names of animals, adoptive nouns, and miscellaneuos objects and concepts:

#### 5.3.1. Persons:

xilukazi (old woman) sulukazi (8)

xigangi (naughty person) sugangi (8)

	xigebengu (criminal)	sugebengu (8)
	xiphoqo (shameful person)	suphoqo (8)
	xidalwa (cripple)	sudalwa (8)
	xidakwa (drunkard)	sudakwa (8)
5.3.2.	Animals:	
	xipakanya (cat)	supakanya (8)
	xihaxe (animal)	suhaxe (8)
	xikova (owl)	sukova (8)
5.3.3.	Anatomical terms:	
	xifuba (chest)	sufuba (8)
	xidumbu (corpse)	sudumbu (8)
	xilepfu (chin)	sulepfu (8)
	xixende (heel)	suxende (8)
5.3.4.	Adoptive nouns:	
	xitulo (chair)	sutulo (8)
	xitofu (stove)	sutofu (8)
	xibali (brother-in-law)	subali (8)
5.3.5.	Miscellaneous:	
	xiboti (rotten thing)	suboti (8)
	xifiso (desire)	sufiso (8)
	xidyala (dish)	sudyala (8)
	xibhalesa (gun)	subhalesa (8)
6.0.0.	Noun Classes 9 and 10:	
6.1.0.	Morphology: The Basic Prefixes	of Classes 9 and 10
	are respectively in	- and tiN The
	nasal in both cases is homorgani	c and when it is

prefixed to the noun stem, a morphophonemic change

takes place with the result that in some cases the

prefix is modified beyond recognition.

6.1.1. The nasal in the prefix assimilates itself to the initial consonant of the noun stem: iN-pfene > impfene (baboon) timpfene (10) iN- bido > imbido (heart) timbido (10) > injwa (dog) iN-jwa tinjwa (10) ) ingoti (string) tingoti (10) iN-goti When the intial consonant of the noun is an aspirated 6.1.2. velar stop, kh, the nasal consonant of the prefix is elided and the kh sound is replaced by the voiced hh sound. iN-khosi > ihhosi tihhosi (10) iN-khomu > ihhomu tihhomu (10) iN-khosana > ihhosana makhosana (6) 6.2.0. Number: Nouns in Class 9 are singular and generally take their plurals in Class 10. 6.2.1. A few nouns in Class 9 take their plurals in Cl. 6. ihhosana (heir) makhosana (6) indodana (son) madodana (6) insimu (ploughed field) masimu (6) 6.2.2. There is an instance of a noun in Class 9 taking its plural in class 2. inonyana (small girl) banonyana (2) Significance: Nouns in these classes refer to animals, 6.3.0. parts of the body, people, adoptive words and miscellaneous objects: 6.3.1. Animals: ihhomu (cow) tihhomu (10) impfene (baboon) timpfene (10)

inyonywana (bird)

injwa (dog)

tinyonywana (LO)

tinjwa (10)

	10.	
6.3.2.	Anatomical terms:	
	imumpfu (nose)	tinumpfu (10)
	imbindo (throat)	timbindo (10)
	imbido (heart)	timbido (10)
	indeni (stomach)	tindeni (10)
6.3.3.	People:	
	induna (headman)	tinduna (10)
	ihhosi (chief)	tihhosi (10)
	ihhosana (heir)	makhosana (6)
	indodana (son)	madodana (6)
	inonyana (small girl)	banonyana (2)
6.3.4.	Adoptive words:	
	inayithi (needle)	tinayithi (10)
	imoti (motor car)	timoti (10)
	impfanisha (furniture)	timpfanisha (10)
7.0.0.	Noun Classes 11 and 10:	

Morphology: The Basic Prefix of Class 11 is lu- and 7.1.0. its corresponding plural, where applicable is in Class 10, tiN-. The homorganic nasal in class 10 is responsible for the morphophonemic changes that occur when it is juxtaposed to the initial consonant of the noun stem:

ludyimi (tongue) tindyimi (10) lubambo (rib) timbambo (10) luhlanyi (mad person) tintlhanyi (10)

Number: Nouns of Class 11 generally take their plurals 7.2.0. in Class 10 although there are also nouns in this class that remain neutral and do not take any plurals:

lubhisi (milk)

luju (honey)

lusiso (aid, help)

luqolo (peace)

7.3.0. Significance: Miscellaneous.

lukhuni (firewood)

tinkuni (10)

luthuli (dust)

- 8.0.0. Noun Class Prefix 14:
- has an allomorph byi- which is used with only two stems, namely, -ani and ala. When the Basic Prefix bu- is juxtapesed to these two vowel commencing stems, the vowel of the basic prefix is labialised into w and the nouns assume the forms bw-ani and bwala. The bw sound is further palatalised into by resulting in the forms byani and byala. The significance of the prefix by seems to have been lost, and the byi- allomorph of the Class 14 prefix is is superimposed on it to give these two nouns a double prefix:

byibyani (grass)

byibyala (beer)

8.2.0. The allomorph bu- is used with all other stems:

buxika (winter)

busiku (night)

buxongo (sleep)

buseka (flea)

- 8.2.1. Number: Neutral
- 8.3.0. Significance: Mainly abstract concepts.

- 9.0.0. Noun Class Prefix 15:
- 9.1.0. Morphology: The stem is verbal and the Basic Prefix ku- is used with it to form the

infinitive.

kufa (to die, death, disease)

kufunda (to learn, knowledge)

kutshuka (to be afraid, fear)

kudwala (to give birth)

9.1.1. If the verbal stem is vowel commencing, then the semi-vowel <u>y</u> is inserted between the Basic Prefix <u>ku</u>-and the verbal stem:

kuyakha (to build)

kuyala (to refuse)

kuyiba (to steal)

kuyosa (to roast)

kuyona (to spoil)

- 9.2.0. Number: Neutral.
- 9.3.0. Significance: These forms are regarded as nouns on the one hand because they can fill the subjectival and objectival slots, and also because they can take subjectival and objectival concords.

  They also have verbal qualities because they can be conjugated in the various tenses.
- 10.0.0. Noun Class Prefix 16:

phambili (ahead)

- 10.1.0. Morphology: The Basic Prefix is pha- with an allomorph ha-.
- 10.1.1. The prefix ha-only occurs with two stems, namely,

  -ndle and -ntsi, and pha- with the remaining four.

  hantsi (below)

  handle (outside)

phakati (inside)
phetsheya (across)
phezulu (above)

- 10.1.2. The vowel <u>a</u> in the prefix <u>pha-</u> coalesces with the initial vowel <u>i</u> of the noun to which it is prefixed to give the secondary vowel <u>e</u> in the forms <u>phezulu</u> and <u>phesheya</u>.
- 10.1.3. Invariably, these locative forms are preceded by the locative prefix he- as informants insisted on the forms:

hehantsi

hehandle

hephambili

hephakathi

hephetsheya

hephezulu.

- 10.2.0. Number: Neutral.
- 10.3.0. Significance: Locative.
- 11.0.0. Noun Class Prefix 17:
- 11.1.0. Morphology: The Basic Prefix is ku-. It is prefixed to nouns and some adjectival

stems:

kude (far away)

kufupi (nearby)

kumhunu (to/from a person)

- 11.2.0. Number: Neutral.
- 11.3.0. Significance: Distance or motion towards or away from.

- 12.0.0. Noun Class Prefix 18:
- 12.1.0. Morphology: The Basic Prefix is mu-. When it is

  prefixed to stems, the vowel of the Basic

  Prefix is elided and regressive assimilation takes

  place between the remaining nasal of the Basic Prefix

  and the initial consonant of the stem:

mu-pfungu > mpfungu (at the far inside of the hut)

mu-wanga > ngwanga (directly above)

mu-deni > ndeni (in the centre of)

- 12.2.0. Number: Neutral.
- 12.3.0. Significance: Locative.
- 13.0.0. Noun Class Prefix 21:
- 13.1.0. Morphology: The Basic Prefix of this Class is dyi-.

  The plural occurs in Class 6 in the forms

  ma- and madyi-. When dyi- is prefixed to nouns of

  Class 5 the plural takes the form ma- whereas when

  dyi- is prefixed to nouns of classes other than Class

  5, the plural takes the form madyi-

dyidyiwa (large pumpkin) (5) madyiwa
dyitiku (large country) (5) matiku
dyisondo (large wheel) (5) masondo
dyihhomu (large cow) (9) madyihhomu
dyixijana (large dish) (7) madyixijana

- 13.2.0. Significance: This is an augmentative class.
- 14.0.0. NOUN DERIVATIVES
- 14.1.0. NOUNS DERIVED FROM VERBS:

14.1.1. Nouns referring to persons are derived from verbs by suffixing the vowel <u>i</u> to the root of the verb and prefixing the appropriate noun class prefix.

The state of the s			The state of the s
-fundis- (teach)	>	mufundisi	(1)
-xabis- (sell)	>	muxabisi	(1)
-dyis- (herd)	>	mudyisi	(1)
-gay- (sew)	>	mugayi	(1)
-hlany-(go mad)	>	luhlanyi	(11)
-azi (know)	>	xisazi	(7)

14.1.2. Nouns referring to impersonal objects are derived from verbs by suffixing the vowel o to the root of the verb and prefixing the appropriate noun prefix.

-fis- (desire)	>	xifiso	(7)
-bamb- (catch)	>	xibambo	(7)
-siz- (help)	>	lusizo	(11)
-bit- (call)	>	bito	(5)

14.1.3. Nouns are formed from the passive by suffixing vowel a to the extended root of the verb and prefixing the appropriate noun class prefix.

-dakw- (become drunk)> xidakwa (7)
-dalwa (be created) > xidalwa (7)

#### 15.0.0. NOUNS DERIVED FROM NOUNS:

15.1.0. Reduplicated noun stems:

Noun stems are reduplicated to denote many objects tindlelandlela (many paths)

tinthabanthaba (many mountains)

mitshinitshini (many machines)

#### 15.2.0. Dimuntives of nouns:

15.2.1. The general rule for the formation of noun dimunitives is to replace the final vowel of the stem

with the suffix -ana.

imoti > imotana (small car)

injwa > injwana (small dog)

mafuxa > mafuxana (small quantity of fat)

15.2.2. If the final vowel of the noun stem is either <u>u</u> or <u>o</u> the suffix used is -wana.

muLungu > muLungwana (whiteman of small stature)

undilo > undilwana (small fire)

ntshongo > ntshongwana (small child)

15.2.3. The suffix -nyana has a derogatory conotation

mufati > mufatinyana (woman of no reputation)

ihhosi > ihhosiyana (despised chief)

xifuba > xifubanyana (small insignificant chest)

16.0.0.		THE	PRONOUN			
16.1.0.	THE ABSOLUTE PRONOUN					
16.1.1.	Lis	st of Ab	solute Pronouns	20		
	1st. P.	Sing.	mini			
		Plur.	hini			
	2nd. P.	Sing.	wene			
		Plur.	nini			
	3rd. P.	C1. 1	yene			
		2	bone			
		3	wone			
		4	yone			
		5	dyone			
		6	wone			
		7	xone			
		8	sone			
		9	yone			
		10	tone			
		11	lone			
		12				
		13	_			
		14	byone			
		15	kone			
		16	kone			
		17	kone			
		18	kone			
		19	-			
		20	_			

21

dyone

- 16.2.0. Morphology:
- 16.2.1. The Absolute Pronoun is characterised by a CV suffixal element which assumes the forms -ne and -ni.
- 16.2.2. Suffix -ni occurs with the pronominal concordial elements of the 1st. Person (singular and plural) and 2nd. Person (singular)

lst. P. Sing. mini
Plur. hini

2nd. P. Plur. nini

Suffix -ne occurs with all the other pronominal concordial elements.

- 16.2.3. Another feature of the Absolute Pronoun is the central pronominal vowel. This vowel is <u>i</u> where the suffixal element is -ni, and <u>o</u> where the suffixal element is -ne with the exception of the singulars of the 2nd. and 3rd. Persons where it is <u>e</u>.
- 16.2.4. In general the suffixal element of the Absolute

  Pronoun is retained when the pronoun is inflected
  by prefixation in the formation of possessives,
  adverbs or copulatives, but occasional instances
  of its elision have been recorded.

ndabhajwa nami (I am also ill)
tshutshuma naye (run away with him)
mabito yabo (their names)
nwana wabo (their child)
hito (they are the ones)

16.2.5. Significance: Absolute Pronouns are emphatic in significance.

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#### THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN

## 17.1.0.

## List of Demonstrative Pronouns

			(1	st pos.)	(2nd pos.)	(3rd pos.)
1st.	P.	S.		lwe	lweyo	lwiya
		Pl.		laba	labo	labaya
2nd.	P.	S.		lwe	lweyo	lwiya
		Pl.		laba	labo	labaya
3rd.	P.	Cl.	1	lwe	lweyo	lwiya
			2	laba	labo	labaya
			3	10	lowo	lowuya
			4	le	leyo	leyiya
			5	ledyi	ledyo	ledyiya
			6	lawa	lawo	lawaya
			7	lexi	lexo	lexiya
			8	lesi	leso	lesiya
			9	le	leyo	leyiya
			10	leti	leto	let <b>i</b> ya
			11	lolu	lolo	loluya
			12	4	-	-
			13	-	-	-
			14	lebyi	lebyo	lebyiya
			15	loku	loko	lokuya
			16	laha	laho	lahaya
			17	loku	loko	lokuya
			18	lomu	lomo	lomuya
			19	-	-	-
			20	*		-
			21	ladyi	ledyo	ledyiya

18.0.0. Significance: Three positions can be set out for the Demonstrative Pronoun, namely, 1st., 2nd., and 3rd. positions.

18.1.0. The first position indicates a place nearer to the speaker than the person addressed and is translated into English by the words 'this one, this or these'

Amhunu lwe wabulabula (this person is speaking)

lexi xapotshwa (Axidakwa) (this one is drunk, i.e. the drunkard)

Babasati laba babitana antshongwana (These women are calling the child)

18.1.1. The second position is translated into English by the words 'that or those' and refers to a position relatively far from the speaker but quite near to the person addressed:

Ampfula lowo unetintlhampfi (That river has fish)

Atinjwa leto talumana (those dogs bite)

18.1.2. The third position indicates a place far away from both the speaker and the person addressed, and is translated into English by the word 'yonder'.

Ndilabixa amhunu lwiya (I see yonder person)

#### 18.2.0. Morphology:

18.2.1. The demonstratives of the first and second Persons, in all three positions, make use of the demonstrative pronouns of the 3rd. Person Class 1 for their singular, and Class 2 for their plural.

- 18.2.2. The first position is characterised by a CV structure in the lst., 2nd. and 3rd. Persons (singular). This CV structure also occurs in the Nasal Classes, i.e. 1, 3, 4, 9, excluding 6 and 10. In all other cases the structure is CVCV.
- 18.2.3. The structure of the 1st. position demonstrative is evidently the result of a coalescence of the Demonstrative Prefix 1a- and the pronominal stem whose initial vowel corresponds to the vowel of the Basic Prefix of the noun except in the case of 1st.

  2nd. and 3rd. persons (singular) where the origin of the demonstrative 1we does not conform to this theory.

61.	2	ba-	la	+	aba	=	laba
4	4	mi-	la	+	<u>i</u> Ø	=	le
(	5	ma-	la	+	awa	=	lawa
9	9	in-	la	+	iø	=	le
10		tin-	la	+	iti	=	leti

Basic Pref. Dem. Pref. Pr. stem

18.2.4. The structure of the second position is based on the démonstrative pronouns in the first postion. In the CV structures, forms with the vowel e suffix yo and the others suffix wo. In the CVCV structures the final vowel is replaced by the vowel o.

- Cl. 1 lwe > lweyo
  3 lo > lowo
  6 lawa > lawo
  14 lebyi > lebyo
- 18.2.5. The structure of the 3rd. position is also based on the first position demonstratives.

The vowel in Class 1 CV <u>lwe</u> is replaced by <u>iya</u>.

In the remaining CV cases, vowels <u>o</u> and <u>e</u> respectively suffix <u>wuya</u> and <u>yiya</u>. All CVCV structures suffix <u>ya</u>.

Class	1	lwe	>	lwiya
	3	10	>	lowuya
	4	le	>	leyiya
	9	le	>	leyiya
	10	leti	>	letiya
	15	loku	>	1okuva

#### 19.0.0. THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUN

#### 19.1.0. THE POSSESSIVE CONCORD:

#### 19.1,1. List of Possessive Concords:

Class 1 wa-2 ba-3 wa.ya-5 dya-6 ya-7 xa-8 sa-9 ya-10 ta-11 la-12 13 14 bya-15 ka-

#### 19.1.2. Morphology:

19.1.3. The Possessive Concord is derived from the combination of the Possessive Prefix which resembles the Subject Concord and the Possessive Particle a. Where the Possessive Prefix is a vowel the resulting Possessive Concord is a semi-vowel, w in the case of u and y in the case of i. Where the Possessive Prefix is of CV structure coalescence takes place between its vowel and that of the Possessive Particle.

1 Class u + awa.-2 ba + a baalt. b + a > ba-> u + a> wai + a > ya-5 dya + a dyady + a 6 ya + a> ya-7 xa + a > xa-Xasa + a sas + a sa-9 i + a> ya-10 ta + a > tata-11 la + a la-> la-12 13 bya-14 bya + a > by + a bya-15 ka + a ka-> k + a

19.1.4. In the CV Possessive Prefix structure an <u>a</u> ending form has been postulated to conform with the rules of coalescence. Alternatively, it could be postulated that all CV Possessive Prefixes resembling the Subject Concord elide their vowels before combining with the Possessive Particle <u>a</u>

- 19.2.0. THE POSSESSIVE STEM
- 19.2.1. PRONOMINAL POSSESSIVE STEMS:
- 19.2.2. List of Possessive Pronominal Stems:

1st. P. S. -nga

Pl. -ixu

2nd. P. S. -ku

Pl. -inu

3rd. P.Cl. 1 -Ke

2 - 00

3 -wo

4 -yo

5 -dyo

6 -wo

7 -x0

8 -50

9 -уо

10 -to

11 -10

12 -

13 -

14 -byo

15 -ko

#### 19.2.3. Morphology:

19.2.4. The Possessive Pronominal stem from Class 2 onwards is derived from the Absolute Pronoun. By prefixation of the Possessive Concord, the suffixal element of the Absolute Pronoun is elided thus giving the Possessive Pronominal stem.

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Class 7 xone atimpfu taxo (their sheep)

9 yone axifuba xayo (its chest)

10 tone amuLungu wato (their employer)
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- 19.2.5. Pronominal stems for the 1st., 2nd., and 3rd. Persons (singular) and 1st. and 2nd. Persons (plural) cannot be traced to Absolute Pronoun derivation.
- 19.2.6. lst. and 2nd. Person plural forms are characterised by an initial vowel i which coalesces with the vowel a of the Possessive Concord. In the other cases where the Pronominal stem does not have an initial vowel, no coalescence takes place:

amimoya ya + ixu > yexu (our spirits)
atimpfu ta + inu > tenu (your sheep)
anwana wa + nga > wanga (my child)
abito dya + ku > dyaku (your name)
wansati wa + ke > wake (his wife)